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His Mother's Faith

It was under a fig tree in the garden of his house in Milan that a young man cast himself down upon the ground, in turmoil of spirit, weeping and crying aloud to God: "Wilt thou be angry with me forever?" The year was 386. The man was Aurelius Augustinus, born at Thagaste in Numidia thirty-two years before. His mother was an ardent Christian named Monica. His father, Patricius, was a pagan. The conflict between his father's ambitious desire for his son's worldly success and his mother's yearning for the salvation of his soul had resulted in years of wandering and of unhappiness. He was now established as a teacher of rhetoric in this northern Italian city. A devoted pupil and constant companion, Alypius by name, had accompanied him from their native village in Africa, and was even now seated upon a bench in the same little garden. Augustine had left his friend for a time in order to be entirely alone.

It was then that he heard a voice from near at hand. It was repeating—over and over again—a sort of childish chant. The words were *Tolle, lege; tolle, lege*—"Take, read; take, read." First he thought he was listening to children at play. Then he suddenly felt that it was a divine command, addressed to him personally. He remembered how Anthony had turned to the Bible for counsel and had immediately opened to the passage which reads: "Go, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me."

Legi in Silentio Capitulum

Accordingly Augustine decided to take the book and read the first chapter that he chanced upon. He did so, and the first words that met his eyes were these: "Not in revelry and drunkenness, not in debauchery and wantonness, not in strife and jealousy. But put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and as for the flesh, take no thought for its lusts." Immediately it seemed as though a great light was shining in his heart, and the darkness of doubt vanished. He marked the passage in the Bible, and returning to Alypius with a calm countenance, related what had occurred. His friend asked to see the passage in Romans which Augustine had read, and accepted the next verse (which Augustine had not read) as addressed specifically to himself: "But him who is

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weak in faith, receive." Without hesitation he determined to accept Christianity with his friend. Then both hastened to Monica to tell her what had occurred, and she rejoiced that her prayers had been answered—even beyond her hopes.

Inquietum, Donec Requiescat in Te

This is the familiar story of the conversion of a great father of the church, preserved for us in his own words in the volume he entitled *Confessiones*. It is a most unusual autobiography, and admittedly one of the greatest books ever written. Dean Andrew F. West has well described it as "the self-registered record of the development of a human soul."

Unlike Rousseau, who is seeking in his *Confessions* to explain to posterity how he—Jean Jacques—who was born good has yet gone sometimes so far astray, Augustine addresses himself solely to his Creator. "Great art Thou, O Lord," he says in his opening sentence, "and greatly to be praised," quoting from the Psalmist. He is not concerned to justify himself in the eyes of men. The entire thirteen books of this unusual autobiography comprise a prayer—a conversation carried on with God. The final word of the concluding chapter of the last book is "Amen." In the first chapter occurs the famous sentence that

is a kind of *résumé*, not of this book merely, but of all human life: *quia fecisti nos ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te.*

The language throughout the book is charged with dramatic intensity. We are never for a moment allowed to forget that it is not to us, his readers, that the author is speaking, but to God. In setting forth the restless wanderings of his spirit, he is acknowledging God's unperceived guidance, and rendering belated thanks and praise. "Perhaps You are amused at me," he says to God, "but You will turn and pity me." It was of God's grace that he first entered upon the scene of this mortal life—"or shall I say living death?" And at once the consolations that have their source in divine mercy were his to enjoy "as I have heard from my parents in the flesh . . . for I do not remember."

Such is the quaint and unusual flavor of this primary source for our knowledge of his life.

"Our hearts are restless." Surely his heart was disquieted within until the time of that crucial experience in the garden.

Transactas Foeditates Meas

Up to the age of thirteen the child lived at home with his parents, attending the grammar school at Thagaste which he had entered at seven. Then he was sent to a more advanced school at Madaura. In beginning his account of the experiences of youth, which followed, Augustine says: "I wish to recall the past transgressions of my youth, and the carnal corruptness of my spirit, not because I love them, but that I may love Thee, my God."

The essence of his sinfulness was a desire to please mortals rather than God. "What was it that gave me delight," he asks, "save to love and to be loved?" Not content with affection that is of the spirit, he gave himself up to sensual delights and from his sixteenth to his thirty-second year his life was that of a libertine. In retrospect he laments the fact that his family did not seek to save him through the instrumentality of marriage. Their only care was to make him an effective speaker.

He had left home in 367 (as has been said) to attend school at the nearby city of Madaura, where he studied literature and oratory. In 370 his parents, for want of the money necessary to continue his education, were obliged to bring him home. So he spent his sixteenth year in idleness at Thagaste. Patricius was a man of only moderate means, and was planning to send his son to Carthage for his higher education.

In a memorable phrase, *animositate magis quam opibus*—"by sheer determination more than by financial resources"—Augustine pays tribute not to his own father alone but to the thousands of devoted and ambitious fathers in every age who have coveted

for their sons educational advantages of which they themselves have been deprived. Like the Roman poet Horace, Augustine received a college education by reason of his father's courageous faith. "For who did not then commend and praise my father as a man who assumed for his son an expense beyond his means, to provide for study at a distance from home?"

Ne Vituperarer, Vitiosior Fiebam

Yet Patricius, being still a pagan (though a catechumen), was interested solely in secular education—not in his son's religious or moral life. So Augustine was permitted to follow the devices and desires of his heart. His pious mother was greatly distressed and pleaded with him, but to no avail. She was particularly urgent that her son should abstain from adultery or entanglements with married women. The young man felt it would be a disgrace to heed such feminine importunities. Yet he now realizes (as he writes his *Confessiones*) that it was God's voice, speaking to him through the lips of his mother. Part of the reason for his waywardness was the desire to win the approval of his youthful companions by rivaling their boasted transgressions. So he even invented sins which he had not committed, lest he should appear despicable by reason of his inexperience.

So, in his picturesque phrase, he "walked the streets of Babylon and wallowed in its filth." And his mother, though cut to the heart, would not urge marriage as a means of escape lest she hamper his future prospects of professional success, for which she and her husband had already made so great sacrifices. They anticipated a brilliant career for their son. How brilliant it was actually to be they could not even suspect.

Ut ad Te Redirem

In due time the way was opened for Augustine to go to Carthage, Rome's ancient rival, risen once more from its ashes since the elder Cato's day. Here he read Cicero's *Hortensius*, a work no longer extant today, and was inspired by it with a love for philosophy. "That book," he says, "changed my affections; it directed my prayers to Thee, O Lord, and altered my wishes and my desires." So Cicero became the first strong influence for good in his life. It was not the style so much as the content of the book that had impressed him. He saw the vanity of his earlier pursuits and yearned earnestly "for the immortality of wisdom." So he declares: "I began to arise to return to Thee." Perhaps he wishes to remind us, by his language in this sentence, of the parable of the prodigal son.

Augustine says that he was greatly excited and inflamed by the *Hortensius*, and disappointed in one thing only: "that the name of Christ was not there."

For he had cherished that name from the time he was a child on his mother's bosom, and whatever was without that name could never wholly ravish his heart. Thus, in all the years of wandering—he was now a youth of nineteen—he had borne about with him, thanks to his mother, the seed of an ultimate salvation.

Augustine turned now to the study of the Bible, to see what it was really like. His first reaction was one of disappointment at its simplicity of style: it seemed to him unworthy of comparison with the eloquence of Cicero. For as yet he could not penetrate to its inner meaning.

Homines Superbe Delirantes

It was then that he encountered the Manichaeans, and was captivated by them. They made seductive use of the familiar names of Jesus Christ and the Paraclete, and spoke much of the Truth—though truth was not in them. Moreover they had many big books to bolster up their faith. Their doctrine—an Oriental dualism—represents life as a conflict between the powers of Light and Darkness. Manes, its founder, identified himself with the Paraclete promised by Jesus. It was just as Augustine was hungering and thirsting for spiritual food that these deceptive and unsatisfying dogmas were set before him. But instead of being satisfied, he only thirsted the more. Food seen in dreams is identical with the food set before us when we are awake (he says), except that it affords us no nourishment. Now he felt himself cut off from "the husks which the swine did eat." Even the fables of the grammarians had been more satisfying. For unfortunately he accepted and believed the specious teachings of the Manichaeans.

With their dualistic system these new teachers seemed able to give a more satisfactory answer to the problem of evil than Christianity could. They asked Augustine the source of evil in a good world ruled by a benevolent and omnipotent deity, and he could not answer them. They inquired also concerning the form and substance of his God, and again he found himself at a loss. They mocked at the Old Testament because of its tales of polygamy and murder and animal sacrifice. By all this Augustine was greatly disturbed, "because"—he says—"I did not know that evil is nothing save the absence of good." Nor did he yet realize that God is spirit. Moreover he had never conceived of the progressive revelation of religion from the time of the patriarchs to the coming of Christ. All times are not the same. *Haec ego tunc nesciebam*, he says. And so, in his blindness, he was led astray. He believed, with the Manichaeans, that Light (and hence Good) is imprisoned in fruits, and may be released by eating them.

Yet from this and worse follies and fancies the

Lord released him, in answer to his mother's tears. In her sorrow at her son's blindness and error and spiritual death she was consoled by a dream. She saw herself standing on a certain wooden rule, or measuring rod, and coming toward her was a fine young man, happy and smiling at her, although she was sad and sunk in grief. He bade her take heart, saying "that where she was, there was I also." For the young man was her son. And they were standing together, upon the same rule.

When Augustine sought to tease her by saying the meaning might as well be that she would come over to his faith, she replied without hesitation: "No, for it was not told me 'Where he is, there shalt thou be also,' but 'Where thou art, he too shall be.'"

Filius Istarum Lacrimarum

For nine years he continued to be held fast by the darkness of error, but in the end his mother's faith and tears were rewarded. Augustine relates the story of the priest, a bishop of the church, whom Monica asked, as a man of learning, to reason with her son and thus convert him. He refused, saying that the time was not yet ripe, but added: "It is impossible that the son of those tears should be lost."

Meanwhile for nine years, from the age of nineteen to twenty-eight, Augustine was himself a convert to Manichaeism and led others astray. He was now a teacher of rhetoric, earning a living by "selling loquacity." He had fallen in love with a young woman and was living with her, though they were not married. She became the mother of his son, and he now learned the difference between his former passionate attachments and the mutual, continuing love that makes a home.

He used to consult "the mathematicians"—as astrologers were called in the Roman Empire, even in the days of Horace—though he had no patience with soothsayers who foretold the future on the basis of what they discovered in the vital organs of animals offered in sacrifice. Now the astrologers relieved men of responsibility for sin by attributing their every act to the influence of the stars. Thus, in a sense, they shifted the blame to the Creator.

Yet God does not forsake His creatures even though they go astray from Him. "Where was I when I began to seek Thee?" cries Augustine. "I had departed even from myself, and could not find myself, how much less find Thee."

Romam Pergere et Potius Ibi Docere

Now he decided to leave Carthage and go to Rome, not in the hope of greater wealth or reputation, but because he had heard that students were better disciplined there. His mother was heart-broken at the impending separation. "So I lied to my mother—and such a mother—and made my

escape." He pretended that he was not going, but that he wished to wait for the time of sailing in order to bid a friend farewell. That night Monica stayed in a chapel dedicated to Saint Cyprian, near the shore, praying for him and weeping. And her son departed by stealth, and sailed for Italy. She besought God that he might not go without her, but the Lord answered the intent rather than the words of her petition. "For she loved my presence with her," says Augustine, "like all mothers—only much more than many mothers do, and she could not know then what joys Thou wouldst bring her through my absence." So she went back home alone, "to pray for me; and I went off to Rome."

Augustine opened a school in Rome, first gathering students of rhetoric about him in his own home. As he had been told, there were here no such outbreaks against law and order as had distressed him in Carthage. But the students did not pay their tuition, suddenly leaving him in a body to attach themselves to another teacher: "For the sake of money, justice appeared to them a trivial matter." So once more he was disappointed and unhappy.

The prefect of Rome, who was Aurelius Symmachus, was asked by the magistrates of Milan to send a teacher of rhetoric to that city. This was in the year 384. Upon recommendation of his Manichaean friends, Augustine was selected and sent. Here he met Bishop Ambrose, one of the best known men of his time, a devout and learned Christian. "To him I was led unwittingly by Thee, that through him I might wittingly be led to Thee."

Mediolanum ad Ambrosium Episcopum

Bishop Ambrose received him like a father, and the younger man loved him from the beginning of their acquaintance because of his kindness and affection. He listened to the Bishop's discourses to the people, in admiration of his eloquence. At first he listened for the sake of the words, rather than of the thought which they conveyed. Gradually and unconsciously he was impressed by the doctrine also. Little by little, his questions and difficulties were being answered. The passages in the Christian scriptures that had so offended him were now given a new and spiritual interpretation.

So Augustine deliberately set out to confute the Manichaean doctrine. From the sceptical viewpoint of the Neo-Platonists, he felt he must now forsake this fallacious faith. Furthermore he determined to become a catechumen in the Christian Church, as his parents had desired, until his future course became clearer to him.

Et Baptizati Sumus

Augustine was no longer a Manichaean, but he was not yet a Catholic Christian. Now his mother, following him through the perils of land and sea,

joined him at Milan. She was quite naturally overjoyed at his change of heart and his deliverance from error. She was now convinced that God would fully answer her prayers, and that before she died she would see her son a convert to the true faith. She looked upon Ambrose as an angel of God, and loved him for her son's sake. The great bishop congratulated Augustine on having such a mother.

It was in 386, in the thirty-second year of his life, that Augustine was finally converted to Christianity. Now Augustine no longer felt a desire for marriage or for temporal glory. He had taken his stand on the rule of life that had sustained his mother for so many years. Her dream was fully accomplished.

One of the most famous passages in the *Confessiones* is the moving account of the death of Augustine's mother, Monica, as related in the ninth book. Within recent years the Italian government has appropriately placed a tablet containing sentences from this portion of Augustine's book in the restored city of *Ostia Antica*, the port of Rome, where her death occurred. It begins with the familiar words of the twenty-third chapter: *Impendente autem die, quo ex hac vita exitura*—"As the day drew nigh on which she was to depart from this life."

Conloquebamur Ergo Soli Valde Dulciter

They were staying at the time at an inn, awaiting the ship that was to carry them home to Africa. Mother and son were standing one day at a window opening upon an inner court, with its garden. And his mother said to him: "My son, I have nothing left to please me in this life. The one thing I was waiting for was to see you a Catholic Christian before I die. God has abundantly answered my prayers. What do I here?"

Within the next four or five days she succumbed to a fever. When it became evident that she could not recover, she asked to be buried in Ostia. This greatly surprised her son, as she had always desired to be buried beside her husband, Patricius, in Africa. "Nothing is far from God," she said, "and I need not fear that He will not know whence to raise me up at the end of the world." So she died, in the fifty-sixth year of her life, when her son was thirty-three.

Augustine closed her eyes, and a great sorrow filled his heart, and he wept bitterly. *At illa nec misera moriebatur*, he writes, *nec omnino moriebatur*. With this sentence the modern memorial tablet at Ostia closes.

Augustine gives an account of her funeral, and tells of the comfort he found in the hymn written by Ambrose: *Deus creator omnium*, which ends with the lines *Mentesque fessas allevet, Luctusque solvat anxiis*.

There is a pathetic sentence at the close of this chapter, addressed to the reader, in which Augustine

says: "Read this who will, and interpret it as he pleases, and if he thinks I did wrong to bewail my mother for a brief interval of time, weeping for my dead mother who had shed tears for so many years that I might live in Thy sight, let him not mock me, but rather, if he is a man of great charity, let him shed tears for my sins before Thee, the father of all the brethren of Thy Christ."

The book closes with a prayer for the souls of his parents departed.

Charles Christopher Mierow

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Rewriting *Octavia Praetexta*

While taking a course in Senecan tragedy, I found that the *Octavia*¹ was considered to have almost interminable speeches; to be overloaded with abstruse mythological allusions;² and to be almost completely devoid of action. Since the possibilities of the historical background on which it was based seemed to promise much more satisfaction than the poem actually gave, I attempted an outline for another handling of the material; that is, a "rewriting," as the play *might* have been done. Here mythology is replaced by historical fact adapted to meet the needs of the tragedy. I made some attempt also to introduce more action.³ This "rewritten" *Octavia* follows, in outline form.

Prologue

Octavia appears before the palace lamenting the loss of her intended husband and railing at her detested marriage with Nero.⁴

Act One

Octavia before the palace mourning over the death of her brother thereupon perceives Nero's mistress Poppaea entering the palace. She turns angrily to follow. *Enter the Chorus*. Octavia hesitates at the palace door partly hidden from the Chorus. It speaks of the justice of the golden age and of the Laws of the Twelve Tables which are held in mockery under a tyrant worse than Tarquin. Octavia approaches and, uttering a complaint over her hard lot, seeks to uphold the moral uprightness of her house. The Chorus gathering around her points out the sorrow reaped from the wicked acts of her own family. Octavia wrings her hands as mention is made of greater sorrow to come.⁵

Act Two

Octavia bitterly denounces the intrigues of Poppaea. She turns on Poppaea who is approaching and berates her for her licentious life. Poppaea laughingly going off hints that Nero already prefers her company.

Poppaea meets the entering Chorus. It reproves her gently for talking so to the daughter of the great Claudius. She answers, "Who would not respect the son of the great Nero?" Octavia has been almost beside herself with anger during this interchange. She bursts into angry tears. The Chorus approaches her—she waves it away. It asks if a mere usurper will take her place, and assures her that such will not be the case. Octavia turns unheedingly from it. Finally she cries out, "Shall I abandon myself to fruitless grief? Is there no weapon with which I can defend and avenge myself? I will slay her with my own hand!" She rushes toward the exit. The Chorus stands before the entrance warning her not to prepare greater grief for herself. She turns back slowly. Finally she says, "No, there is another way. They shall feel the edged lash of the wronged woman's tongue. At their moments of relaxation I shall find them and poison their joy with hints of the people's hatred for Poppaea, of Poppaea's low estate." The Chorus comments succinctly that the tongue is a two-edged sword.⁶

Act Three

Octavia discovers the full measure of her weakness and the danger of her position when she happens on a Chorus preparing sadly the things which may be needed for an imperial wedding. Nero views the proceedings with great relish, but the Chorus turning sadly to him comments on the beauty and virtue of Octavia. It is evidently trying to placate him. At this point Octavia enters unseen by the busy group. Nero looks on the Chorus impatiently, finally rages, "Shall I be the sport of a goddess as cold as marble?" The Chorus begs him to be kind. It throws itself before him, begging mercy for Octavia. He pushes its leader aside and leaves, still threatening. Octavia reaches it, scarcely able to stand. Pitifully she says, "My tongue has sharpened the spear for my own throat." She looks around wildly. Grasping the small spear prepared to part the hair of the bride, she finishes, "Let that spear then pierce my throat." The Chorus takes the instrument from her, saying that there still may be hope. She may mollify her husband by her winning ways and by her meekness. She replies that he desires not herself but her blood. The Chorus recalling the bravery of other Roman matrons reminds her that an heir is needed for the kingdom. "Will you abandon Tarquin and his ruthless queen?" it asks. Octavia walks slowly forward. "To hear it," she says, "is to abandon myself to death. To refuse it is to betray Rome and the people who love me to this monster. 'Monster' did I say? He is it with whom I have to live. Live? It is death rather. Shall I die every day living with him while I wait for him

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EDITORIAL

Foundation Help and the Humanities

The basic place of the humanities in secondary and collegiate education has long been recognized, and many persons of wealth and position in this nation have been entirely willing to lend their names and their statements of confidence when asked, for example, to submit a testimonial on the value of the ancient Greek and Latin classics. Similar oral service has been forthcoming on the values of English literature, philosophy, history, and the fine arts. Such expressions of confidence have cheered and encouraged those professionally engaged in the teaching of the humanities.

Yet humanities teachers have often been distressed at the disparity between spoken approval and financial subvention. While the natural sciences, for example, have been most generously endowed with grants from great foundations set up from private fortunes or in alliance with outstanding commercial organizations, the humanities have usually found it hard to secure like assistance. Even the social sciences have impressed many foundations far more effectively than we have.

Obviously, the natural sciences, and the social sciences, too, in a more limited way, can promise *discoveries*, *findings*, tangible *results*. A grant to a chemist may lead to an entirely new approach in some major manufacturing process, in the treatment of disease, in the facilitation of material comfort. A physicist may make important contributions in the new atomic wizardry now so much with us. A sociologist may discover and publicize a hitherto disregarded factor tending to foster crime or some other ill in a great American city.

But in the humanities, and more especially in the classical literatures, we must needs be content with

less sensational outcomes to our researches and our studies. In the curricula of the schools, while ours is as the basic bread of educational nutriment, we can not expect the sudden and momentous reactions which the vitamins and wonder drugs of other disciplines sometimes bring about in those in whose nurture we are concerned.

Hence it is most gratifying to discern now various indications of foundation encouragement and help for the humanities. Recently, *School and Society* (February 2, 1952: page 76) called attention to one such action. The John Hay Whitney Foundation, in conjunction with the American Council of Learned Societies, has devised a plan with two important objectives: the improvement of high school teaching in the humanities, and the aiding of retired college professors of the same disciplines.

Towards the first objective, selected high school teachers will be given the opportunity of a year's university study, with programs especially designed for their instruction and for their exchange of experiences. Specifically, and as a beginning, for 1952-1953, nominees will be considered from public schools in ten states arranged into four groups or "pilot" regions: New York and New Jersey; Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee; Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska; Oregon and Washington. Candidates must have had five years of secondary teaching, be between thirty and forty-five years of age, hold a recognized bachelor's degree, and be nominated by an approved school official. Teaching subjects acceptable are arts, history, languages, literature, music, and social studies. For the first year, Yale and Columbia will be the study centers.

Those chosen will elect certain courses and also enroll in a special seminar; twice a year the whole group will meet for general discussion. Stipends equal to their salaries (but in no case less than \$3,000.00) will be paid, along with allowances for transportation and removal.

In its second objective, the Foundation plans to make available further teaching service for retired college professors who have been distinguished as good teachers and authorities in the various fields of the humanities. They will be assigned to instruct in small independent colleges.

The John Hay Whitney Foundation, of course, is not alone in the present trend to aid the humanities and humanities teachers. Some months ago the American Council of Learned Societies announced its program of *ACLS Scholars*, to help, through grants, "teachers in the humanities temporarily displaced from college and university faculties as a result of the defense emergency." And the recent grants of the Ford Foundation have included benefactions to several phases of the broad interests and activities of the same great field.

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to slay me, or shall I flee? I seem to hear the people of Rome calling for me to shield them from him. To protect them. Who am I to protect anyone? Yet Rome must live. Aye, Rome shall live though it be by my death." As she leaves she says, "Mistress Rome, crowned with towers, protect one who loves you better than life. Keep my honor stainless."

Act Four

Octavia's brave stand is stalemated by Nero's divorcing her. She leaves sadly avowing that she has slain Rome with her tongue.

The marriage of Poppaea follows. The Chorus begins an *epithalamium*. Grief and bad omens silence it. Nero pretends not to notice and goes boldly on. After the ceremony he is called out to sign the papers for some new execution. The Chorus asks Poppaea whether she does not see her own blood on the hands of her new husband. Shall he spare his wife, when his hands are red with the blood of his unnatural mother? Poppaea faints and finally is led off by the Chorus, which while reviving her comments on the precariousness of her position.⁸

Act Five

Poppaea and Nero comment on the violence of the crowd. Octavia appears, brought to the front of the palace by the mob and led to the door by the rejoicing Chorus. Nero, when the crowd disappears, begins to rage and threaten. Octavia engages in a brief interchange with him on the injustice she has suffered from him and the justice rendered by the mob. Nero, outraged and overcome, calls his soldiers. Octavia leaves for banishment. She foresees that it is but the prelude to death. She faces it with triumphant calm even while she rather sadly comments on the sharpness of the spear in the soldier's hand—sharpened, as she says, by her foolish, chattering tongue.⁹

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NOTES

1 Cf. Edward C. Chickering, *An Introduction to Octavia Praetexta* (Columbia University Dissertation 1910) 70: "The quality of the play has been variously estimated ranging all the way from Lipsius' utter condemnation to the praise of Vater, who says it is the best extant example of the Roman Tragedy." 2 Cf. Mary V. Braginton, *The Supernatural in Seneca's Tragedies* (Yale University Dissertation 1933) 93: "The author of the Octavia was, like Seneca, distinctly fond of the supernatural. In addition to the revenge ghost of Nero's murdered mother, he introduced two ghostly dreams into this drama." 3 The original play, in 985 lines and five acts, has the following characters: Octavia, Nurse of Octavia, Poppaea, Nurse of Poppaea, Ghost of Agrippina, Nero, Seneca, a *Praefectus militum*, a Messenger, and two Choruses—one sympathetic to Octavia, and the other upholding Nero and Poppaea. 4 The Prologue in the original is spoken by Octavia, 1-33. For act divisions, cf. I. Vürtheim, *Octavia Praetexta* (Lugduni Batavorum 1909). 5 Act 1 in the original, 34-376, includes Octavia and her Nurse, and ends with a song by the Octavian Chorus, 273-376. 6 Act 2 in

the original, 377-593, discloses Seneca, the *Praefectus militum*, and Nero; the Chorus does not appear. 7 Act 3 in the original, 594-691, opens with an apparition of the shade of Agrippina, 594-646; introduces an anapestic address by Octavia, 647-669, to the Octavian Chorus; and concludes with an anapestic response by the Octavian Chorus, 670-691. 8 Act 4 in the original, 692-821, beginning with an interchange between the Nurse of Poppaea and Poppaea herself, 692-763, moves into an interchange between the Messenger and the Poppaeans Chorus, 764-821. 9 Act 5 in the original, 822-985, presents Nero and the *Praefectus militum*, 822-878; the Octavian Chorus, 879-900 and 926-959; and Octavia, 901-925 and 960-985.

How Realistic Are Quintilian's Themes?

The equivocal attitude of Quintilian toward themes for declamation has escaped many critics' notice. They take his strictures against lack of realism, such as, *Sint ergo et ipsae materiae, quae singuntur, quam simillimae veritatis, et declamatio, in quantum maxime potest, imitetur eas actiones, in quarum exercitationem reperta est* (*Inst. 2.10.4*), at face value, or more, without observing whether these assertions square with his actual practice and other statements. Schanz, for instance, denies that Quintilian could have been either author or editor of the *Declamationes Maiores* and *Minores*, because "von derartigen Schöpfungen . . . wendet Quintilian in der Institutio sich sehr entschieden ab," and even goes so far as to assert, "Diese scharfe Ablehnung der erdichteten und unmöglichen Themen spricht gegen die Autorschaft Quintilians, der auch nie dieser Kontroversen gedenkt."¹⁰ Such an assumption, that a sharp cleavage exists between the declamatory subjects of the *Institutio* and of the collections, can not, on the evidence, be sustained.

Quintilian does, in one of the corroborative citations quoted by Schanz, put certain themes beyond the pale. *Magos et pestilentiam et responsa et saeviores tragicis novicas aliaque magis adhuc fabulosa frustra inter sponsiones et interdicta quaeremus*, he writes (2.10.5), and indeed no examples of these themes are found in his work. But others, no less imaginary and even more typical of the collections, appear with great frequency, in skeleton allusion or fully developed. Some are identical with themes from Seneca or pseudo-Quintilian, some differ only in minor detail, some have an outstanding point of resemblance, and still others are even more fantastic than the inventions of either rhetorician.¹¹

Evidence from the *Declamationes Minores*

In pseudo-Quintilian's *Declamationes Minores* a dying man (in return for a pledge to wed his daughter) discloses the true parentage of a youth whom he has reared as his own son. Acknowledged later by his natural father, the young man is disinherited for refusing to break his oath and marry a rich orphaned kinswoman rather than his benefactor's daughter. The same theme appears in Quintilian:

Qui expositum recepit, imperat ei nuptias locupletis propinquae; ille ducere vult filiam pauperis educatoris (7.1.14). Both *DM* 284 and *Inst.* 5.10.104 concern the claim of a priest caught in adultery that he is exempted from penalty by a law granting priests the power to save one person's life (in this situation, his own). Identical with Seneca, *Controv.* 1.4, is *Inst.* 9.2.42: a blind father, guided by one son, slays his other son and the youths' stepmother in the act of adultery. And *Inst.* 4.2.69 and 7.4.42 pose the question of punishment as *causa mortis* in connection with debauchery of a free-born youth who subsequently took his own life; in *DM* 292 the same basic circumstances are further elaborated: after the Olynthians were defeated, their more powerful allies, the Athenians, voted to extend them protection; the suicide of a handsome young refugee who had been the guest of a wealthy Athenian over night led to indictment as *causa mortis* on the supposition that he had proposed or compelled immoral relations.

Both Seneca (*Controv.* 2.3) and Pseudo-Quintilian (*DM* 349) contain the theme of the ravisher who accuses his father of insanity for not forgiving an offence which the wronged girl's father had consented to condone; this appears in Quintilian 9.2.42. Again, *Inst.* 5.10.36 and Seneca, *Controv.* 4.7, debate the propriety of rewarding a man who killed a tyrant by whom he had been taken in adultery. In *DM* 293 and *Inst.* 5.10.97, a *vir fortis* demands as his reward the privilege of setting himself up as tyrant (the declamation specifies as tyrant over the beaten enemy whom he had been fighting).

Unusual Suits

Praescriptio (demurrer) is put forward against a person condemned in a court action, hence *ignominiosus*, to prevent him from bringing suit (*Inst.* 3.6.75), and specifically on those grounds by a son against his father (*Inst.* 7.5.3). In *DM* 250, that objection is raised by one of a pair of young men who, having struck each other, had brought cross-suits and drawn lots to see which should prosecute first; the victor in the drawing, after winning his case, seeks to bar the other from action. Nearly identical with *Inst.* 5.10.36, in which a soldier is accused of sacrilege for tearing down dedicated weapons from a temple wall to repulse the enemy, is the theme of *DM* 369 and Seneca's *Controv.* 4.4, lodging the same accusation against a *vir fortis* who removed the needed arms from the tomb of another *vir fortis*.

DM 268 is a contest for the estate of a man who left his property to whichever of his three sons (a lawyer, a philosopher, and a doctor) could prove his occupation most useful to the state; in Quintilian 7.4.39, only a fourth of the estate is involved, each son having been willed an equal share of the re-

mainder. In essentials, *Inst.* 7.8.4 may be paired with *DM* 280; the former represents a ravished woman, married to another man, as demanding the traditional right of choice (her assailant's death or marriage to him without a dowry) when the culprit returns, while in the latter it is the woman's father who wishes to lead him before the magistrate (where she, however, must announce her option). The cause of disinheritance in three of the *Declamationes Minores* (287, 371, 375) is refusal by a son, eligible as *vir fortis* to claim the reward of his choice, to request dismissal of treason charges against his father, though in each instance the son, acting as his father's advocate, has disproved the accusation. The longest exposition of a single case in Quintilian (*Inst.* 7.1.41-63) centers on the application of the law disinheriting a son who failed to defend his father accused of treason (the law is mentioned in 5.10.107), and figuring in it prominently are the *filius disertus*, who pleaded his case in vain, and the *filius rusticus*, who later secured his recall by exercising the *optio viri fortis*:

Qui reo proditoris patri non affuerit, exheres sit. Proditionis damnatus cum advocato exulet. Reo proditoris patri disertus filius affuit, rusticus non affuit; damnatus abit cum advocato in exilium. Rusticus cum fortiter fecisset, praemii nomine impetravit restitucionem patris et fratri. Pater reversus intestatus decessit: petit rusticus partem bonorum, orator totum sibi vindicat (7.1.42).

Inst. 7.1.8 alludes to a charge of murder against a husband who, being under sentence of exile, killed his wife and her paramour; *DM* 244 is the defence of a man banished for five years for involuntary homicide, who, hearing of his wife's adultery during his absence, killed her and the adulterer on his return from exile. *Inst.* 7.1.24 concerns *praescriptio* against the reward asked by a *vir fortis*, marriage to another man's wife. A somewhat reminiscent situation may be found in *DM* 306: a man who was going abroad ordered his wife to expose their child when it was born; she did so; the husband died on foreign soil, leaving her his estate; later, a young man whose age corresponded to the time of exposure asserted that he was the son and claimed his share in the property; while his suit was pending, he was cited for bravery in battle; as his reward, he asked to marry, without prejudice to his legal claim, the woman he had named as his mother. This declamation may be rooted in a historical occurrence, for Suetonius (*Claud.* 15.2) reports the emperor's solution of just such a dilemma: *Feminam non agnoscetem filium suum, dubia utrimque argumentorum fide, ad confessionem compulit indicto matrimonio iuvenis.*

Declamatory Favorites in Quintilian

Quite apart from detailed parallels and resemblances, Quintilian's *Institutio* gives prominence to types of theme that are favorites in the declamatory

collections. Without any pretence to complete coverage, I have noted the following references which fall into such categories:

1. Under *abdicatio*, a son challenges disinheritance on the ground that his father is *ignominiosus* (3.6.77); other sons are disowned for entering military service, standing for public office, or marrying, without parental consent (7.4.4), or for having an affair with a courtesan (7.4.20); a father who has secured the acquittal of his son in a trial for fratricide by claiming to have commanded the act subsequently disinherits him (9.2.88); and another who has married a prostitute renounces his son for doing likewise (11.1.82).

2. Under adultery, a charge of murder is brought against a husband who had killed his wife in *flagrante delicto*, but the adulterer later, in the forum (3.11.7), and against another who had killed both, though himself *ignominiosus* (7.1.8); a wife and her stepson accuse each other of attempted seduction (4.2.98); it is claimed that the scourging of an adulterer is allowable, as being a lesser punishment than the law authorizes (5.10.88); and the question is raised whether a man caught in a brothel with another man's wife is an adulterer (7.3.6).

3. Under tyrants and tyrannicide, it is twice debated whether the slayer of more than one tyrant should receive more than a single reward (3.6.26 and 7.8.3); two physicians contest each other's claim to have poisoned a tyrant (7.2.25); an argument arises over whether a person who forced a tyrant to kill himself is a tyrannicide (7.3.7); conflicting laws, one honoring a tyrannicide by a statue, the other forbidding the statue of a woman to be set up in a gymnasium, are quoted (7.7.5); and (in a case condemned by Quintilian) a son who has accused his father of aiming at establishment of a tyranny asks as his reward that the accused not be tortured, a favor which the father declines (9.2.81).

4. Under the reward claimed by a *vir fortis*, one hero asks permission to destroy the temples of the gods (5.10.97), another pardon for quitting the citadel while serving as commander (7.7.4), and a third the sparing of his fifty-year-old father, who had deserted after seeking exemption from military service and being denied because of the son's objection (9.2.85).

5. Under parricide, a father defends his three sons who had taken oath to kill him but lost heart and confessed (4.2.74), and charges are pressed against two other sons whose angry or ambiguous words pointed to foreknowledge of the slaying (5.10.47 and 7.2.48).

6. Under *causa mortis*, a piper is charged who had accompanied a sacrifice with music in the Phrygian

mode, thereby driving the officiating priest mad and causing him to fling himself over a precipice (1.10.33). This theme Quintilian praises as *non inerudit ad declamandum facta materia*.

7. Under poisoning, it is objected that killing an adulterer by poison is unlawful (5.10.52); a disinherited son, a medical student, is charged with poisoning his father, who died on drinking a potion administered as a last resort after doctors had given up the case as hopeless—even though the youth, stung by his father's dying words of accusation, had drunk the remainder of the draught without untoward consequences (7.2.17); the question is raised whether magical incantations (*carmina*) are the equivalent of poison (7.3.7); and in the most fantastic theme of all, a woman is accused of poisoning her husband, who had hanged himself after she gave him a love-potion to cure him of his habit of beating her and then left him, refusing the requests of her relatives to return to him (7.8.2).

Fact versus Fiction in Quintilian

The frequency of such themes in the *Institutio* should not be construed as evidence that its instruction rests wholly on fictitious cases. Orations of Cicero, particularly the *Pro Milone*, are referred to again and again as models for the youthful declaimer. But, as Quintilian remarks, *utendum est enim et his exemplis, quae sunt discentibus magis familiaria* (7.2.17). However scornfully these stock characters and situations, with their extravagances, may now be regarded, and however unmercifully they were ridiculed in their own day by Petronius, Tacitus, and Juvenal, we must remember that Quintilian had good precedent for sanctioning them: for Cicero had represented Antonius as saying:

... *volo enim se efferat in adulescente fecunditas. Nam siue facilis in vitibus revocantur ea, quae sese nimium profuderunt, quam, si nihil valet matres, nova sarmenta cultura excitantur, item volo esse in adulescente, unde aliquid amputem* (*De Or.* 2.21.88).

This point of view is reproduced in the *Institutio*: *Vitium utrumque, peius tamen illud, quod ex inopia, quam quod ex copia venit* (2.4.5), and *Facile remedium est ubertati; sterilia nullo labore vincuntur* (2.4.6). The themes of the schools were pabulum for this exuberance of imagination, which could later be brought under restraint; as Quintilian says, *Solebam ego dicere pueris aliquid ausis licentius aut laetius, laudare illud me adhuc, venturum tempus, quo idem non permitterem* (2.4.14).

Charles S. Rayment

Carleton College

NOTES

1 Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* VIII.
2 (Munich 1935) 756. 2 376; the work will be cited hereafter as *DM*.

Breviora

Letter to the Editor

I am very grateful for sending me THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN, volumes 18-27, which I received three weeks ago. You were very kind to answer my appeal. I treasured the few stray copies which were put at my disposal, but now I am in possession of an inexhaustible mine in which I can dig and always find help and inspiration. I am teaching Latin and Greek to young Indian Jesuits who are studying Arts at our St. Xavier's College, here in Ranchi. They also will draw profit and encouragement from the reading of THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN.

With best wishes of the season,

Yours gratefully,

Th. Heyrman, S. J.

Librarian, Manresa House,
Ranchi, India

January 1, 1952

1952 Vergilian Summer School at Cumae

The Vergilian Society of America, currently being revived and reorganized under the Presidency of Professor George D. Hadzits, has had the good fortune to obtain from the Italian Government a lease on a fine large estate at Cumae, near Naples, which can admirably serve as living and study quarters for classics teachers who wish to spend some weeks in that richly Vergilian and classical area.

Plans and arrangements are now being made to conduct a valuable program of summer studies and travel during July and August of this year, for the benefit of American teachers and advanced students of classics, history, and art. Members will board and lodge at the estate, and be given special lectures, by such eminent authorities as Professors Maiuri, Elia, Sestieri, Mustilli, at the main classical sites: Cumae, Naples Museum, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Capri, Baiae, Puteoli, etc. The program will cover about two weeks, and be repeated as often as enrollment warrants throughout the summer. Expenses will be moderate. A unique opportunity for gaining valuable personal background and inspiration for better teaching, combined with a memorable trip and convenient living arrangements, is offered.

Teachers or graduate students who think they might wish to attend this Vergilian Summer School at Cumae should contact the undersigned, from whom they will receive more detailed information on cost, dates, and program as soon as definite arrangements have been made. Members of the Summer School at the American Academy in Rome will be able to take in this program after finishing in Rome, and then sail home from Naples.

Raymond V. Schoder, S.J.

West Baden College,
West Baden Springs, Indiana

Classical Association of Canada

Relatively young in years, the *Classical Association of Canada* is enjoying a vigorous life, according to the report of Acting Secretary W. M. Hugill, for the Fifth Annual Meeting, held at McGill University, in Montreal, on June 2, 1952. "Individual memberships of all kinds," he writes, "totaled 249, with 58 additional library subscriptions to *The Phoenix*." Elected for the ensuing year were: president, H. L. Tracy; vice-presidents, Maurice Lebel, R. J. Getty, E. T. Salmon, and J. F. Leddy; Secretary, Mrs. Gilbert Norwood; treasurer, B. C. Taylor; editor, Miss Mary White; council, D. O. Robson, W. B. O'Toole, C. S. Brubacker, M. St. A. Woodside, Sr. St. John, Jean Bernier, W. Kirkconnell, W. M. Hugill, W. L. Grant, J. de Groot, A. E. Raymond, and E. Counsell. It was announced "that the next annual meeting would be held in Quebec with the same venue as the NCCU."

Meetings of Classical Interest, II

The *Classical Association of the Atlantic States* will meet at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, on April 18 and 19, 1952, with hotel headquarters at Carvel Hall.

The *Thirteenth Latin Teachers' Institute* will be held at Saint Louis University in three sessions, on June 18 and 19, 1952. The general theme of the Institute will be "Latin in the Revival of Liberal Studies." Visiting Institute Lecturer will be B. L. Ullman, Kenan professor and head of the department of classics at the University of North Carolina, who is scheduled to give two addresses, one on "Trends in High School Latin," and the other on "The Post-mortem Adventures of Livy."

A *Latin Workshop* for three weeks, June 30 to July 17, is announced by the department of classics at the University of Wisconsin. In addition to offering formal course work, the Workshop plans to stress discussion and attention upon the work of the classics teacher. Advance registration may be begun on April 15, through Paul L. McKendrick, Bascom Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

The *Seventh International Congress of Linguists* will be held in London, September 1-6, 1952, with the linguists of Great Britain charged with its organization. Inquiries and other communications may be addressed to the Secretary of the Executive Committee, D. M. Jones, Birbeck College, University of London, Malet Street, London, W.C. 1, England.

Interlingua — *Individuo o Robot*

Hodie, plus que in qualcunque altere tempore in le historia del mundo, le homines ubique es menaciat per condicione que rende a illes difficile o impossibile elaborar pro se mesme lor proprio destino. Es denegate a illes le opportunitate de disveloppar se como esseret human deberea facer lo.

Le esser human possede per natura le capacitate del libere

option. Le opportunitate de exercer iste capacitate non pote esser denegate a ille sin que le essentia de su natura sia violata. Le libertate inviolabile del persona es le fundamento supportante tote le structura de derechos e obligaciones del individuo e del societate.

Le aspiraciones del homine es conditionate per principios de "valor." Le homines aspira a bonitate e ordine, a decoro e integritate, al bello e al vero. In nostre vita le experientia de tal valores ha plus realitate que le cosas que nos pote vider e toccar. Illos representa nostre experientias le plus gratificante. Le grande virtute del principios de valor es que illos pote accompaniar nos ubicunque nos va.

The above selection, from a 22-page pamphlet, may test the language skill of readers of THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN. Couched in *Interlingua*, the pamphlet is explained by Alexander Gode, director of research for the *International Auxiliary Language Association*, as having been "written by a group of sociologists connected with the *Institute for Associated Research* at Hanover, N. H. These men felt that America's role in the world of today is in danger of being blurred by the effect of our own carelessness in both deed and the use of vague slogans. A restatement of American aims and principles in terms of our ideal faith in the importance of the human individual seemed to them the most effective way of lending logic and new substance to our anti-totalitarian and, specifically, anti-Communist stand." The translation into *Interlingua* was made for purposes of dissemination of the pamphlet, on the claim that *Interlingua* "can be read with comparative ease by educated speakers of all Western languages."

More detailed information about *Interlingua* may be had from its headquarters: *IALA*, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.—attention the executive director, Mrs. Mary Bray.

Journalistic Accadade

In teaching the languages, the humanists, at the same time, carry forward and pass on great ideas which have so vastly influenced civilization, ideals of beauty, natural and moral; ideal relations of life, of freedom, of justice, of tolerance; of art, science, literature, philosophy, social structure and civil rights; the dignity of human personality and the worth of the individual—all of the noblest conceptions of life and destiny.—*The Lexington Leader* (December 1, 1951).

Actresses in Male Roles

In his novel *The Golovlyevs*, the nineteenth-century Russian satirist Saltykov-Tschedrin, while discussing the experiences of an actress in a provincial theater, points to a theatrical custom in Russia in his day which represented a sharp reversal of Greek theatrical practices. The actress in question had achieved considerable fame in the role of Helen in the opera *Beautiful Helen*. As her popularity began to wane, however, she had to be content

for a time with the less important role of Orestes in the same opera. The fifth-century Athenian, who was accustomed to seeing all roles played by men, doubtless would have experienced considerable shock at the thought of a woman's playing even the part of Helen, to say nothing of Orestes!

Saint Louis University Chauncey Edgar Finch

For Juvenal every conception clothes itself with color and shape. He cannot think of Hannibal without fancying what a picture would be the one-eyed general borne on his Gaetulian beast. Marius comes before his mind's eye as stepping down from the car that bore him in triumph to Aquae Sextiae, and Vulcan as washing the grime of his Liparaean workshop from his brawny arms.—R. Y. Tyrrell.

Statius . . . was, of all the Roman poets, the most ready and versatile. Like Ovid and Pope, "he lisped in numbers, for the numbers came."—R. Y. Tyrrell.

Those who most appreciate the true value of Hellenism will never claim for it that, by itself, it can suffice for the needs of modern humanity.—Jebb.

Reviews

Alfred R. Bellinger, *Religious Perspectives of College Teaching in the Classics*. New Haven, Conn., The Edward W. Hazen Foundation, no date. Pp. 19.

This brief pamphlet is one of a series of studies whose aim is to interest teachers in the "religious issues, implications and responsibilities involved in the teaching of their respective disciplines." The series arose out of a realization of what is "probably the most ominous defect of modern civilization," namely, "the cleavage which divides intellectual from spiritual life."

Mr. Bellinger makes an earnest and intelligent plea to teachers of the classics for a deeper consideration of the religious views of the ancient authors. "Nothing," he says, "is more necessary for the classics than to be brought back into the main stream of the humanistic discipline and studied no longer merely as an aristocratic division of learning, but as a brilliant part of the whole history of mankind."

The major part of the pamphlet is devoted to a résumé of religious views as expressed or implied by various ancient writers, ranging from Homer to Apuleius. The comments are brief, pointed, and remarkably discerning. A classicist can hardly read them without experiencing qualms of conscience for neglecting an important element of the classics. Unfortunately, as the author properly remarks, the average teacher is "much more likely to give respectful thought to the syntax, the rhythm, the history, the fallibilities of his author than to his author's estimate of the divine."

This enlightening little work is, however, unhappily marred by a statement which can hardly be ignored, as it reflects a prevalent biased view concerning the position of the classics in mediaeval education. Mr. Bellinger assumes that Christianity welcomed pagan literature as an essential part of the spiritual as well as the artistic heritage of the western world only "when the great intellectual awakening of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries burst the bounds of mediaevalism." A mere passing acquaintance with such twelfth century writings as the *Metalogicon* and the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury would be sufficient to dispel that false assumption.

This adverse criticism, made concerning a statement with no particular bearing on the general purpose of the pamphlet, is not intended to detract from the value of the work, which carries an important message for the teacher and student of the classics.

Marcus A. Haworth, S.J.

Saint Louis University

William Henry Paine Hatch, *Facsimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1951. Pp. viii, 289, including 100 plates. \$15.00.

This splendidly printed and beautifully illustrated volume is a companion piece to the author's *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament* published in 1939. The 100 facsimiles included are taken from minuscule manuscripts ranging in date from 885 A. D. to the sixteenth century. The author has selected his manuscripts with a view to providing useful material both for the Greek palaeographer and for the textual critic of the New Testament. He is to be congratulated on having accomplished his purpose admirably.

Each of the facsimiles is faced by a page containing pertinent descriptive information, including the present location of the manuscript, the size of the leaves, color of ink, name of scribe if known, place of origin, type of text, palaeographical peculiarities, and various other facts. The plates themselves are of excellent quality, and in all cases the Greek script is quite clear.

In the introductory sections preceding the plates, Mr. Hatch, in addition to providing a brief but concise and lucid account of the development of Greek writing from the earliest papyri of Egypt to the invention of printing, also includes interesting and informative chapters dealing with the special apparatus found in manuscripts of the Bible, various texts of the New Testament, and various editions of the Greek New Testament. The work has a good bibliography and indices.

Mr. Hatch and his publishers have performed a splendid service for students of palaeography and New Testament Greek in bringing out this excellent volume. While the book is designed primarily for specialists, any person interested in the Bible will find it a useful addition to his library.

Chauncey Edgar Finch

Saint Louis University

C. G. Brouzas, *Byron's Maid of Athens: Her Family and Surroundings* (West Virginia University Bulletin, *Philological Papers*, Volume 7). Morgantown, West Virginia, 1949. Pp. 65, 4 plates.

In this study, which is a supplement of an earlier work, Mr. Brouzas assembles a considerable amount of information about the relatives of Teresa Macri, the lady in whose honor Byron's lyric, "The Maid of Athens," was written, discusses Byron's associations with her, and deals extensively with her career after severance of her associations with the poet. The sources used include letters, diaries, histories, newspaper accounts, memoirs, and travel books produced by persons who, at one time or another, came into contact with "the maid of Athens." In addition to dealing quite thoroughly with Teresa Macri, the author, in his copious footnotes, presents a vast amount of information about many of her contemporaries who played important roles in Greek affairs, with the result that the work provides a very interesting picture of life in Greece in the early part of the last century.

Mr. Brouzas is inclined to discredit many of the romantic tales told about Byron's associations with Teresa. After citing the evidence available, he comes to the conclusion (p. 41) that ". . . in a moment of excitement or aberration, possibly under the influence of the moon or 'spirits,' he [Byron] may have asked to marry her, and on being refused, may have offered to buy her or threatened to take her by force." Teresa's mother, however, on learning of Byron's threats, hid the girl away in the home of a relative, thus putting an end to the celebrated episode.

Nineteen years later Teresa became the wife of another Englishman, James Black. Although her life with Black was saddened by the early death of three of her four children, in all other respects her marriage was a happy one. There is nothing to indicate that she ever experienced any regret over her separation from Byron. After Black's death in 1866 considerable publicity was given to what purported to be public appeals from Teresa for financial aid. Since her daughter Caroline, in an interview given at a later date, vigorously denied that her mother had been in distress at the time, it is, in the opinion of the author, impossible at present to determine exactly what the situation was.

In producing this work Mr. Brouzas has contributed another very valuable study in a very interesting period of Greek history.

Saint Louis University

Chauncey Edgar Finch

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